241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. The seed must [242] come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small corn. The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept [824] or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 The task of planting is a very delicate matter, to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's affair. 241 574 A great banquet is served at noon, generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as [476] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 [263] When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "companion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 252 262 574 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

[P.199-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A]

241 boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which
252 are made from dough and whole beans;
262 and finally, still more atole. The atole is
574 served not in individual *jicaras* but in two
272 or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which
[415] are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves himself. This banquet is given only on the first day of the planting; if other days are required, the milpero himself does the planting.

241 574 Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women
[462] help their husbands in this chore and some-
[566] times do it entirely themselves, since the
[464] men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

244 Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara*; and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajal-ik* or red chile.

241 Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lacking food. From each plant, which provides
[242] two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger.
[252] These jilotes are boiled without salt and
[263] are eaten whole, including the husks.
[262] [P 201-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the barn. This is an easy task, in which men, women, and children take part.

[462] [857]

The harvest takes place in November and December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five members which manages to harvest from 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens.

[592] [251] [804] [261] [231]

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 184 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cultivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 796 The most important ceremonies take place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the prayers. The ceremonies consist in offerings of prayers and incense before the crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the

[778] [782]

[P 201-B]

323 *Handcrafts*

Among the few handcrafts practiced in [462] the Tzeltal areas, ceramics, produced mainly by women, is the most widespread. Tenango [184] and Amatenango del Valle are the only communities which have made a specialty of this craft. Tenango exports its products [439] through the northern zone, Amatenango through the southern zone, including neighboring Guatemalan villages. Both places use 323 184 a similar ceramic technique but different shape and ornamentation. Referring to Amatenango del Valle, Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:396) state:

> The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape; a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, however, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them until they are done. These pots are carried by [438] the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they [439] are redistributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala.

283 Another widespread craft is spinning and 286 weaving of fabrics for clothing. No village in the Tzeltal area trades these products [438] because production barely meets their family needs. The backstrap loom of pre-Hispanic origin is the chief tool.

[184] Pita articles—ropes, bags, and nets to gather the harvest or carry loads—are mainly produced in Oxchuc and Cancuc. 322 In Cancuc wooden combs are also manu- 184 factured.

342 *Houses and Furniture*

Houses, from 3 to 5 m. on a side, are predominantly square with thatched roofs. The walls are wattle-and-daub or plain tree trunks tied with vines. Floors are of [354] hardened earth. The houses only have one door and no windows, except in some vil-

[P. 207-A]

804 *Shucubil* ("codo"): Distance from the elbow to the end of the middle finger extended.
Jaub ("braza" or "brazada"): Distance between the ends of both extended arms.
Yankabal (equivalent to the meter): Distance from the armpit to the extended middle finger of the opposite hand.

[484] The "legua" is also used and is equivalent to the distance a man can walk during one hour (approximately 5 km.).

Of square measures used for the milpa, the most common is the *tarea* (equivalent to a square of 8 jaubs). This is equivalent to a square of 16 m., which is very close to the mecate used by the Yucatec Maya.

The standard most often used for measuring maize or beans is the *almud*, which among the Tzeltal of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Tenejapa, is equivalent to 4 *quartillas* (each quartilla is equivalent to 8 large *borcelanas*). The borcelana is an earthen cup or pot, which can be either small or large. The large one is equivalent to ½ kg. of maize, the small one to ¼ kg. of maize. The borcelana is used to measure chile.

[415]

Economics

Division of Labor and Specialization

241 462 Care of the milpa is men's work, but sometimes women help with light tasks such as weeding or harvesting. Seeding does not require great effort, but it is considered a job for men exclusively. Women may participate in chile seeding—but in the planting only; the holes in the ground can be made only by men, who use a *macana* or planting stick. Cutting and carrying firewood are tasks for men, but women may perform them when men cannot. Women can handle an axe or machete skillfully. Fetching water, from river or fountain, is work for women. It is considered inappropriate and ridiculous that a man carry a cantaro on the hip. Laundry and all kitchen duties are performed by women, as well as spinning, knitting, sewing, embroidering, and making of earthenware. Manufacture

462

[P 209-A]

[Text continues on p. 210-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

462 of palm articles (sleeping mats and hats) as well as articles of wood, stone, or leather are tasks for men; the same applies to basketry but women may occasionally help.

Government matters are under the exclusive supervision of men. In religious affairs women may participate but only in a very minor way—to say prayers or to take care of the saints in the church. The most important ceremonies—on hills, in caves, at waterholes, or in other mountain spots—are performed by men who specialize in the ritual.

[P. 210-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

462 "All activities related to curing of disease are also performed by specialized men, though in some places women occasionally participate. Help at childbirth is always assigned to experienced female relatives; there are no professional midwives—nor professional marriage brokers.

[844] [759] [584]

463 Specialization is little developed. Only in the largest centers are there a few individuals concentrated on carpentry, tailoring, trading, masonry, or some other activity. The families in Tenango and Amatenango who carry on the ceramics industry also

[241]

[P 210 - C]

421 586 her own clothes and her backstrap loom. A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

592 433 241 The family controls all matters related to production and consumption. The head of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops.

462 476 241 In the most conservative communities, the old custom of planting by a cooperative group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully [785] spaced perfectly straight rows. The owner [834] of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual abstinence before starting the planting.

462 592 Only the family shares in the rest of the labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort, women perform those such as tending domestic animals. Help from relatives and neighbors [476] may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

438 Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs; Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

443 There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly: Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

[P. 212-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

stretched flat by a stick with thorns in the end, also said to be called *wolol-te*. The string for tying up the head-stick is called *tsul*. (See fig. 302-A, B). 286

The different coloured threads are wound on shuttles, which are called *buk'al* when bare, *tiomal* when wound. These are passed back and forth between the warp-strands, with an alternate raising and lowering of the heddle. The threads not in use at the moment are laid parallel to the outermost woof-strand at the selvage. Cross-stripes are thus made with the warp, longitudinal stripes with coloured woof-strands.

The shape of the loom depends upon the article to be woven. A sash-loom is about 40 centimeters wide. A cloth-loom is about 75 centimeters wide, and usually not as long as the sash-loom; the sword is a meter in length. The sword at Sivacá was of a heavy wood, very smooth, and dark with much handling. We were told that the wood was not indigenous, and that such swords were very valuable, as they could not be obtained any more. The one seen in use was borrowed from another woman, who refused to sell it.

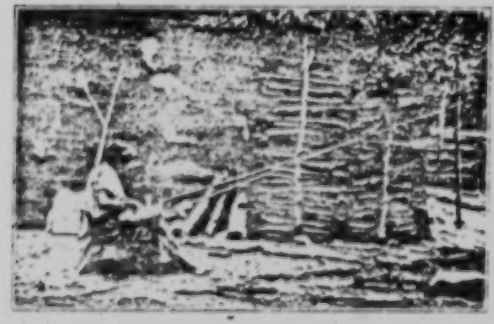

FIG. 303—Sivacá, Chia. Woman Weaving.

Cloth for clothes is ordinarily woven plain white, but is sometimes varied with fine lines laid in the woof. The Bachajon weave relatively little cloth, being more accustomed to buy cotton at the stores; their sashes, however, show more variety and use of colour than do those of Ocosingo Valley.

Hats and baskets, *mOc*, are made by the men. The former have already been described. 285 [462]

Baskets are woven on a frame of heavy splints laid crossing each other at the center. These are bent upward, leaving a sufficient length flat to provide for the bottom. The warp of reeds is then woven in and out, in a simple wicker-work, around the bottom and sides. At the top the splints are doubled over and tucked down under the strands. The rim is formed of two strands twisted around each other between each splint. The work is not very fine, there

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Chapter 2

Traditional Economic Activities

The traditional occupation of every adult man is working in the milpa and of every adult woman, making pottery. The fiction is maintained that they do this work, even if they are actually engaged fulltime in some other activity. In response to the census question, "What is the work of the man or woman?" men answered universally that they were agriculturalists and women that they were potters. Men who work outside the community, in the fincas or in the sawmills, consider this a temporary means of gaining cash income and do not define themselves as sawyers or laborers for others. They work outside the community only when they do not have sufficient land to provide themselves with corn to eat and a surplus to sell, or when they must pay debts incurred by bethrothal or assumption of religious posts. Many women who do not make pottery for extended periods of time, or make it only for a special fiesta, still consider themselves pottery producers.

Persistence of the same occupations and the daily effort to make a living strengthen the link between generations and to tradition. The primary emphasis in child training is teaching both boys and girls to work efficiently and industriously in these traditional occupations. The techniques for codifying and perpetuating a given way of doing things, particularly evident in pottery production, provide clues to the way in which other kinds of behavior are schematized.

Agricultural Production

Agricultural production involves two areas of decision making: what to grow and when to schedule each activity related to production. Decisions in both these areas are based upon custom and time-proved results. I shall

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

vest. Harvesting is done by all the members of the household, sometimes with the assistance of exchange or hired labor. Women help by going to the fields and degraining the cobs with few kernels of corn so that there will not be an unnecessary burden to carry to the houses.

A small fiesta for the corn is made following the harvest. The purpose of the fiesta is to reciprocate the spiritual owner of the corn by giving him a "gift." Two candles are lit and set on top of the piles of corncobs. Two other candles are placed near the heaps of corn grains gathered by the

TABLE 7. Stages of Corn Growth and Agricultural Activities

Stages of growth	*Activity*	*Time (after planting)*
Šlihk sčital (begins to grow)	First hoeing	8 days
Čištal lik ʔišim (well-grown; about 4 feet)	Second hoeing	1 month
Čištal stekan sniʔ (begins to form husk)		2 months
B'al tzuto (begins to bud)		
Lok'iš tzutohal (flower comes out)		3 months
Yihiš sk'ab'enal (begins to mature)		4 months
Lok'iš yihkatz (cobs fill out)		
Sčam hol (its head dies)	Pick cobs to eat fresh	5 months
Yihištal sk'anubiš (now more yellow)	Double over stalks	6 months
Yihubiš (more yellow)		
Tahkiniš (dry)		
Sk'ahik lok'el (harvest time)	Pick dried corn	7 months

women. The candles cause the spirit of the corn to rise and give its "gift to the world" in the following harvest. Failure to make a fiesta would mean an end to all corn harvests.

Corn is brought to the house and stored in the rafters, since there are no corn cribs or separate storage facilities of any kind in the village. Most of the houses are infested with rats as a consequence. When the harvest is brought in, there is an attempt to rid the rafters of these "thieves." The men and boys armed with slingshots stand posted in the yard as the children rustle around in the rafters chasing the rats out. Although they are remarkably good shots since they use this tool from early childhood, the houses are never completely free of rats, and the inhabitants learn to put up with them.

bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a potter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pottery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzo'ontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

Making pottery. The women make a wide variety of household and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7).[2] They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzo'ontahal.

The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

(see plates following p.198..Analyst)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tseltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation.
[313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of
[372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or
[462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the
[476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the
[292] household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the
177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did
323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto
372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two
442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán.
443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs
494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow-
323 ing factors:
433

1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family.
[464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the
[887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

model introduced was faulty or they were not taught to use it properly. Notions about the supernatural relation between souls of crops, man, and the saints do not interfere with experimentation or adaptation at the instrumental level. Obligations with respect to them are carried on as a supplement to other practical measures.

The organization of men's work in agriculture contrasts with that of women's work in pottery. Men's work, when performed cooperatively by two or more of an extended household or exchange labor team, is mechanically organized, in Durkheim's terminology. Each of the men does the same task, working closely in the rows of the milpa. Women's work groups are organically organized since segmentation of the pottery production in the stages described above makes possible specialization within a domestic production group including two or more women. Preferences and special abilities can be taken into account. The potters with more experience do the jobs which require more judgement and skill, such as mixing the clay or making the bases, and then the work is passed on to less proficient workers. Or an older woman can leave the more strenuous tasks, such as mixing clay or building up the sides of the larger pots, to younger women and perform the lighter tasks, such as putting on the neck and handles.

These differences in the organization of male and female work tasks suggest the need for a reformulation of the classification of whole societies as organically or mechanically integrated. In assessing the potential for change, internal variations in the organization of production might provide the clues for implementing development programs.

The division of labor according to sex is nearly absolute: women do not learn to work in the milpa nor do men learn to make pottery or perform household tasks. However, women will gather firewood, and men will transport clay (although they do not collect the clay deposits in balls) and help in firing pottery. Women can live without men in the household economy of the town, but men cannot live without women. This is because male labor is a market commodity while female labor in household activities is not. A widow can hire a man to work her fields, but a man cannot hire a cook. If he is widowed, he must remarry, move into his

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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465 working long hours. Thus they receive 12 pesos for about one and a half times as many hours as is worked locally for the prevailing wage of 6 pesos (ten hours in comparison with the usual day's work of six to seven hours in the town). For this reason they maximize the effort expended in getting to fields outside of their own township. The lower payment in [476] town entails an obligation on the owner's part to reciprocate the labor, but the payment relieves him of an immediate demand on his time. Exchange 476 labor without payment requires reciprocity within the same activity schedule: thus if a man assists someone else during harvesting, he expects that person to assist him during the same harvest period. If, however, he will [465] be unable to reciprocate immediately, the payment of 6 pesos terminates an immediate obligation, but he will be expected to respond when he can if other requests should be made by this same farmer. Exchange labor without payment is contracted between relatives, compadres, and neighbors, using the network of established social ties to reinforce the obligation to reciprocate.

464 Agricultural work in the fincas in hot country is undertaken only when [434] there is extreme need for supplementary income, or when a man is escap- [454] ing the threat of being killed as a witch. In the 1920s, when the Indians had limited land resources and prevailing wages were low, some were forced to go to the fincas of the Argentino and Aregovia near Tapachula. [626] Despite the economic necessity for their undertaking this work, the social pressure was so strong against it that they would leave early in the morning to avoid being jeered as they passed in the street. The women rarely [462] accompanied them because they could produce pottery at home and supplement earnings. The prevailing rate now is 15 to 18 pesos per tarea, a [465] half-day's work, but Indians work in the finca only when urgently pressed.

Nonagricultural labor in the sawmills is a source of employment for twenty-two Indians of the town. Lumber companies operating in the forested areas of Montebello Lake have employed Indians of the town for [465] the past year. The wage offered, from 15 to 18 pesos a day, exceeds the 12-peso wage paid to agricultural laborers in the immediate area, but corresponds to that paid in hot country. The men must live at the sawmill, and supplies of tortillas made by their families are brought in on Wednesdays

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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dies, the owner announces on the loudspeaker of the local bars that he will sell meat at 5 pesos a portion. He preserves the hide to make saddle packs and tumplines. But the loss is great because he will not be able to buy a new bull with what he earns. If the bull lives, he will be better in three weeks and can carry loads. It is a very dangerous operation since the scrotum of a bull is very large. It is easier with a horse.

Surrounding the event with a ceremonial complex minimizes the development of commercialized relations between the caponizer and the owner. Most men who acquire several head of cattle or horses eventually learn to do the task themselves.

Handicrafts performed by men include rope-making from the tails of horses or from plant fibers, and weaving net bags. Most of the men who are assigned to the civil hierarchy spend their spare time in the cabildo making these items.

Carpentry is a skill now being practiced by two Indians of the town who "just learned by watching." They are called upon to help people in constructing the house frame, for which they receive 50 pesos in wages. A Ladino living on the margin of the town is a full-time specialist with his own shop. In addition to supervising house construction, he makes furniture and caskets to order.

New Economic Enterprises

In the operation of the new enterprises, which include cattle raising, cooperative ownership of a store, bars, and trucks, and liquor distilling, several patterns of organization have emerged. Some of these are based on preexisting social groupings, while others represent innovations. The social resources of management, credit operations, and the development of new skills within these local enterprises are of significance in preparing Indians for new occupations in the wider society.

Cattle raising. The most traditional organization is found in the case of cattle raising. Cattle have been in the town at least as far back as the 1915 revolutionary period when informants indicate that most of the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control.

Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in*, or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are.

Markets. In marketing, the Indians of Tzo'ontahal have neither extended nor gained control over the selling and buying operations that have been pursued since before the opening of the Pan-American Highway in 1955. The pottery which is produced locally was formerly carried on horseback to the smaller towns within a radius of fifty miles. The pottery was marketed directly by the men of the household which produced it, with no specialization in trading by commercial travelers, as had happened in the Zapotec and other areas of Mexico. Since the penetration of the Pan-American Highway, the men take the pottery produced in their households by bus or on the trucks to either San Cristóbal or Comitán. This tends to polarize trading operations and dry up the traffic into small towns not connected by the highway. As a result, the wholesale trade in San Cristóbal and Comitán has increased in the past decade, with dealers

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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857 the larger ones their mothers make, but their products are usually not
[323] commercially saleable until they reach the age of marriage. Their responsi-
[312] bility in preadolescence is to bring water from the faucets installed in every other block of the town, and to degrain corn, tend the fire as the *nixtamal,* or corn dough mixed with lime, cooks, and help their mother grind it. The careful assessment of the child's capacity to perform tasks is exemplified by the gradations of water-carrying jars given to each child: the older the child, the larger the jar, with minute variations in scale. The
[592] close, usually wordless cooperation between women in a household comes
[462] from years of working together and knowing their part in cooperative tasks.

Boys accompany their fathers to the fields after they reach the age of six and when they are not attending school. They do not participate in the work of the milpa until they are eight or older, but they pick up twigs for the fire or gather the wild berries or plants which supplement the diet of
[411] the family. They usually carry slingshots with which they kill field rats
[262] and birds, which they bring home to cook and eat. Teaching a boy the
868 tasks involved in agriculture is consciously undertaken by older brothers
241 or the father when the child reaches the age of twelve or thirteen. The following reminiscence of this training is given by a man who had been brought up by his widowed mother and brother.

159 *I went to the field with my brother who is eighteen years older than I,*
868 *when I was thirteen years old. My brother brought me to clean the milpa,*
241 *saying, "Let us go and you will learn how to work. See what I do and you do the same. You will learn what I do and you can do the same."*

One day I finished six rows. My brother said when he saw my work, "Good, just give a little more soil at the foot of the corn because the little corn must have a little soil. Now you do it well." "Yes," I said. He saw it was good, and he told me, "You have learned your work. You are going to forget it when you enter school. When you come out of school, go do two or three rows of work. When you hear the bell strike, go back to school."

He told my mother that I had learned to work, and she said, "Good you know how to cultivate." I learned to do my work better by going along with my elder brother in his work so that I would not forget.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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[P. 198-D]

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Plate 5. Men assisting the women of their household in the firing of canteros, or water jugs. They have just removed the still-smoldering logs which were propped on the outer perimeter of the pyramid of jugs.

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

794 796 *Judge: "By force you must receive it. You do not have to give as much. You only have to receive the sacred banner."*

Nominee: "But if I don't give a fiesta, the pueblo will speak badly of me."

Judge: "It is not important what the pueblo says. Pardon us, let us drink a little trago."

[273] *[All the officers drank, contributing jointly to buy the liquor. Each officer took one sip from the measure, but the nominee drank the entire measure on each round. When he became intoxicated, he yielded to the persuasions of the officials and agreed.]*

Nominee: "Good. I am going to see how it goes."

[The two regidores carried the new alférez to his house.]

794 796 434 462 383 The activities of the alférez in preparation for the fiesta during which he was installed in his post are summarized below.

Making pottery. *The new alférez prepared for the fiesta by organizing his household to make the pottery that was to be sold to cover the expenses. His brothers and brothers-in-law went on horseback bringing fifteen or twenty loads of clay. The women got the sand, carrying it back with the tumpline. The men went on horseback again to collect the limestone temper, which the women would grind and mix with the clay for cooking pots. The next week, the alférez went with a gift of 2 pesos' worth of bread and one liter of liquor to ask the woman who knew how to make large ollas, pots in which the festal foods are cooked, to help him. The sisters and sisters-in-law of both the alférez and his wife joined together to grind the temper and mix the clay. In addition to the special large pots, the women made bowls, soup plates, and water jugs to sell.*

When the pottery was ready to be fired, the men brought the wood and the women tended to the firing. After the pots were fired, the men sold them in the markets of San Cristóbal or Comitán. They usually made about 26 pesos per dozen, which netted them about 500 pesos.

794 782 Learning the patʔoʔtan. *Each evening, an elder of the family of the alférez who knew the patʔoʔtan, or prayer, came to teach him. This*

7: Nash E-5, (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 821 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[787] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

512 462 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] [178] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and
[411] sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[224] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing animals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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175 632 466 communal projects for the neighboring town as there had been formerly. The peasant is master of his own time.

125 221 512 Tables 33 and 34 summarize the number of days and percentage of time accorded to various activities for men of two households. The first family consists of a man forty-three years of age and his wife. All of their own children died in infancy, and an adopted daughter recently left home to live with her husband and child in a new ejido plot. The second family consists of a man, his wife, two adult sons, and an unmarried daughter. In this family, the father of sixty-five is retired and his two sons perform all of the agricultural work. Table 34 includes only the activities of the sons.

125 221 The two schedules provide some contrasts:

461 462 561 1. The forty-three-year-old man has many more ceremonial obligations than the youths. This is a factor related to the life cycle in which men over thirty-five years of age are involved in more familial and community celebrations. During the year this schedule was taken, the man was serving as a mayordomo.

2. The older man has fewer productively employed days than the youths (only 54 percent of his time is spent in productive activities) in contrast to 76 percent and 79 percent for the youths). The difference is accounted for by wage employment the youths have undertaken. In order to pay for the cost of betrothal, the elder son worked 56 days (37 percent of the time accounted for) in a neighboring sawmill.

3. The youths were not involved in any exchange labor arrangements; until they become independent heads of households working their own fields, the men do not contract reciprocal exchanges.

221 461 462 796 The fact that men spend only 54 to 79 percent of their time (using these tables to provide minimal and maximal limits) on productive activities means that there is a great deal of flexibility in the use of time for ceremonial responsibilities. Everyone takes an average of twenty days off for celebrating fiestas in addition to fifty-two Sundays.

241 461 [796] The high proportion of time spent in family or communal ceremonials suggests the high value placed on them. The preference for leisure to pursue these activities is proved in cases such as that in which the additional profit in cultivating cabbages was not sufficient to motivate one agricultur-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

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TABLE 33. Activity Schedule for September 1 to June 29 of Man Owning 1 Hectare of Land and 2 Ejido Plots of ½ Hectare Each

Activity	*Days spent*	*Percent of total time*
Agriculture		46
Preparing land		
Clearing irrigation ditches	12	
Repairing and mending fences	11½	
Clearing land by cutting and burning brush	11	
Irrigating land	8	
Plowing	11	
Planting	6	
Cultivating crops	21	
Guarding crops against animals and birds	3	
Harvesting	34	
Milling sugarcane	8	
Exchange labor	13	
Walking to hot country	4	
Hunting for and tending animals	25½	9
Collecting firewood	13	5
Religious activities		23
Performing duties as mayordomo	26	
Attending Sunday mass and cleaning church	24	
Fiestas, attending mass, participating in playing drum, flute, etc.	21	
Kinship and social obligations		6
Attending funerals	7	
Attending curing ceremonials	3	
Attending betrothal ceremonials	5	
Helping in house-building	1	
Marketing		3
Buying	9	
Selling	1	
Communal labor		2
Cleaning irrigation ditches	1	
Repairing threshing shelter	4	
Business affairs of cooperative	4	1
Assisting town officials	4	1
Outside work	12	4
TOTAL	303	100

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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241 ist to continue growing this labor-intensive crop (Chapter 2). The low
461 propensity to consume, maintained by community-shared standards which inhibit the display of wealth, further reduces the incentives to expand production (Schultz 1964:27). The major reward for hard work is land which, in his middle years, the agriculturalist can turn over to be worked by his sons, thus relieving him of daily toil.

TABLE 34. Activity Schedule for September 1 to February 28 for Two Unmarried Youths

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Activity	Younger brother Days spent	Younger brother Percent of total time	Elder brother Days spent	Elder brother Percent of total time
Agriculture		41		25
Preparing land				
Clearing land by cutting and burning brush	26		6	
Irrigating land	3		3	
Plowing land	1		1	
Planting	1		1	
Harvesting crop	11		7	
Doubling over stalks	4		4	
Working in hot country	16		16	
Collecting firewood	6	4	2	1
House maintenance		12		6
Plastering house walls	13		6	
Bringing lumber	2		2	
Making pigpen	3		2	
Pottery		1		1
Bringing clay	2		2	
Agricultural work for others		8		8
Harvesting and carrying corn	3		3	
Plowing	2		2	
Planting	6		7	
Nonagricultural work in sawmill	16	11	56	37
Religious activities		18		21
Attending fiestas	3		3	
Attending mass and relaxing on Sundays	25		28	
Sickness	8	5		
TOTAL	151	100	151	100

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks.

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION

128

Introduction

Up to this page we have been describing the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango, emphasizing the similarities between these two social universes. There is, however, a set of differences between the two which requires separate treatment. It is important to do so because a detailed analysis of the patterned variation in the two villages can show us how, within a very similar social and cultural background, two societies can develop alternative forms of behavior which place the relations between individuals in two contrasting social structures.

Aguacatenango

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Aguacatenango is purely an agricultural village. The whole community is organized into independent domestic groups which are, in a sense, small family farms administered by the males.

Men cultivate the field crops--corn, beans and squash--do other planting and agricultural work, and care for the large livestock with the help of the sons who live under the same roof. Each household has a male head who is the bread-winner; he is responsible for the welfare of those who live in the same sitio.

241 591 168 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household self-sufficient the whole year around.

241 868 The younger males of a household are initiated into the agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's playground, and to start learning their life trade: the techniques of cultivation. [582] No young male is capable of marrying if he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

241 433 434 In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes, candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover, if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses [464] of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the village for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the sugar cane plantation of Pujiltic. (Usually between one and two weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 5.)

562 462 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. [231] [241] They are also in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

462 [231] [241] sitio (household territory): pigs and chickens, and the cultivation of the rudimentary gardens within the back patios. These gardens do not have great economic importance. Women plant chiles, cilantro, chayotes, té limón, mostaza, and sometimes even beans and a small milpa for elote (tender corn), but gardening is not a serious occupation: most women only plant two of three varieties of plants, a little bush of flavor herbs for the beans, some medicinal plant, or some flowers to ornament the house altar. Many backyards just grow wild, and the collection of its products is mainly "gathering in one's backyard" rather than harvesting (see Fig. 6).

[434] By selling the products of the small garden, some eggs, or fruits, a woman can contribute to the household cash income, but this money is considered somewhat of a luxury. The extra cash can be used to buy some clothes before a fiesta, or a new pot, or a similar item, but women are not expected to support their families: this is the basic responsibility of the family men.

166 462 464 Women have very few cultural alternatives for transforming their labor into a substantial income. Young single girls whose parents are too poor to support them, or who are alocadas (lightheaded) and desire to break away from home, can leave town to go to work as servants in Ladino towns. Wives running away from a mother-in-law who is too strict, or from a drunkard husband, or widows, would occasionally take up this kind of work. This, of course, isolates a woman from the village, and is a form of self-imposed exile. Working for Ladinos is a somewhat awe inspiring [879] idea. Women "know" or suspect that Ladino men violate Indian

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

166 462 464 [829] women and that Ladiño women mistreat their servants. Working in towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mixture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

562 462 434 [464] [275] The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (already discussed above); or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the [558] men of the village. This second occupation is not very well thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women.

Amatenango

462 323 438 [241] [434] In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very different picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery factory because, in addition to the household income derived from the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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462 distribute their work so that while one takes care of the regular
323 home tasks: cooking, caring for the young, cleaning, etc., the
438 other can occupy herself in gathering clay, coiling or modeling. Most steps in the production of pots are arranged in an "assembly line" style, with the women distributing their individual work according to the needs of the stage of the productive activity. Some of these steps, such as firing, require their close and alert
[434] cooperation to be carried on successfully. Pottery production represents about half of the income of each independent household, with some slight variation, because households richer in land produce less pots than poorer ones.

Comparison

433 Pottery production in the hands of the women shapes the
184 economic landscape of Amatenango very differently than the one of
241 Aguacatenango. In the first place, agriculture is a business where
433 the risks are high and the profits unstable. The agricultural production of the villages depends on many uncontrollable factors. Too little rain or too much, too early rain or too late, worm pests or wild animals, can ruin the year's crop. The villagers try to insure the risks of a bad year by planting in as many different types of fields as they can. They plant in the hot country where the crops mature fast, and in the high, cold country where the maturation process is slow but the corn, of a hardier variety, is more resistant to weather conditions. They plant irrigated land to insure water if rain is missing, and in temporal to insure against the drying up of the sources of irrigated water. But even

241 423 then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable year of plenty or a lean year.

184 323 241 433 434 In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery. This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase

184 166 464 731 in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas. The result of having an alternative form of income within the

184 434 621 homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a reputation of being richer than the other communities.

184 434 462 562 In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work. They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know. . . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

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This contrasting economic picture has many effects in the structuring of social relations because it places the women of the two villages in very different positions with respect to their male relatives, and at crucial points in the life of an individual, determines, to a large extent, his choice of alternative behavior.

It is important to make clear that I am not suggesting that economic factors are the determinant of all social life. The specialization of Amatenango in pottery making is not only an economic, but a social and historical phenomenon as well. The basic economic organization of the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is treated here as a given cultural factor. There is nothing in the ecology of Aguacatenango or Amatenango, or in the economic system itself, that "requires" that the women of the one village should be marginal producers while the women in the other are not.[1] This is a given fact. The factors that determined the present division of labor in the villages are not known to me, and I do not pretend that it is due to some primary economic cause.

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But, if I take the division of labor and the economic structure of the village as given variables, then I can ask myself to what extent it is followed by adjustments in other cultural norms. It is here where my problem lies.

I am going to attempt to describe, in the rest of this work, how, and under what circumstances, certain social choices which have become normative are related to the economic life of

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[1] Some of the clay deposits are located in Aguacatenango territory. But, Aguacatecos do not exploit them.

317

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
561 ficers in lower and higher posts.
601

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

134 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

184 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to
520
462 plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when
592 to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he
592 can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his
593 father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single
562 talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

592 The eldest woman in the household has authority over the
593 younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-
562 law, because during the period in which a married man resides with
[606] his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct
[251] authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger women in the homestead.

592 Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home.
593 They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the
434 husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash
562 which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, a new pot, or something similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves.
59 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers,
562 and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is

firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound. Going to gather wood is a very nice break in the routine, and women usually go in the company of other women with whom they chat, exchanging news and gossip. A young wife usually stays home cooking while her mother-in-law leaves the house to gather the fuel for the hearth. Even if a woman does go out to gather wood, she is expected to do so with her mother-in-law, rather than with the women of her own natal family. A woman talking about a bad daughter-in-law will say, "She does not even want to gather firewood with me, she always runs to her mother's."

Women look upon having their own homestead as the only solution for gaining independence. It is true that, even then, they are under their husband's authority, but they control the food brought by the husband to the home, and they can make their own decisions about the work schedule. They can also take time to visit their own female relatives and childhood girl friends, a habit which is disliked by their mothers-in-law as being a threat to their own position.

We can see, then, that there are several factors which provoke structural tensions in the compound home; some are economic, others are related to the ordering of social relations in the kinship domain, and still others depend on the aspirations of the individuals.

In the course of time, the structural tensions accumulate to the point that they precipitate the fission of the household. The triad of a woman, her son and her son's wife, and the dyadic conflict between a father and son dissolves the compound into two

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[602] The patrilines function in several dimensions. Work groups, although invariably containing some bilateral and affinal relatives, recruit members mainly among agnatic kinsmen. Men fence their fields with the help of their brothers, father and sons; when villagers get together to buy a cow for a town fiesta celebration, each cow is bought by a group which contains agnatically related men. In one case, seventeen men who bought a cow together belonged to four patrilines which were neighbors among themselves. In another case, in which several men got together to build a house, nine were agnatic kinsmen, three were affinals (the son's wife's brother, the daughter's husband and the wife's brother), three were compadres and one a neighbor from across the street. The women who prepared the meal for the housewarming were: nine agnatically related to the household head; two agnatically related to the wife of the household head; three affinals of the household head; two affinals of the wife; and two neighbors. In another case, a man and his two sons, one of whom was living in a separate domestic group, helped in the construction, and several other men were contracted to help with the payment, although the daughter's husband, who was a carpenter, was called in to give advice and help.

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627 Individuals, in time of trouble, seek advice from the elders of the patriline, which is the largest unit in which kinship solidarity functions as a controlling social force outside the domestic group. The patriline also exercises control in the form of moral pressure: gossip, accusations of witchcraft, and responsibility for vengeance when a patriline member has been

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

42 43 182 571 184 241 323 434 We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects of the economic system play a very important part in the structuring of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of social behavior are:

(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

184 182 462 572 564 434 (2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango, it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
582 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
434 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
[428] marginal property.
[421]

184 (3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
182 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
462 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
434 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
591 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive activities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, households that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.
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184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
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8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 182 428 593 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Aguacatenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 182 582 591 556 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 182 462 476 593 [606] (6) The relative importance of men versus female cooperative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.

In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative [607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 593 578 571 [613] In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relationships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational